



# Chapter 5



# Women in Parliament: Making a Difference

Although women remain significantly under-represented in today's parliaments, they are now looking beyond the numbers to focus on what they can actually do while in parliament—how they can make an impact, whatever their numbers may be. They are learning the rules of the game and using this knowledge and understanding to promote women's issues and concerns from inside the world's legislatures. In so doing, they are not only increasing the chances of their own success, but they are also paving the way for a new generation of women to enter the legislative process. How can women maximize their impact on the political process through parliament? What strategies are most useful in increasing their effectiveness? What lessons can women MPs share with those aspiring to enter the field? In what ways have women impacted on political processes? This is our focus in this chapter, as we move from the road to parliament to making inroads in parliament.

### 1. Making Inroads in Parliament

In the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), more than 180 governments agreed that 'Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that...is needed...to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning'.<sup>1</sup> When women in different parts of the world struggled to win the right to vote, they expected that this would inevitably lead to greater women's representation. Their expectations were not always met, as chapters in this volume have illustrated. Instead, women embarked on another long and difficult struggle to actually get women elected to parliament. Part of this effort involves convincing women voters to support women as their representatives. In most countries, much of

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the work centres on political parties, the typical channels of entry to national legislatures. Women inside and outside political parties organize and mobilize themselves to change long-established party methods of political recruitment.

Once women enter parliament, their struggle is far from over. In parliament, women enter a male domain. Parliaments were established, organized and dominated by men,

acting in their own interest and establishing procedures for their own convenience. There was no deliberate conspiracy to exclude women. It was, in most cases, not even an issue. Most long-established parliaments were a product of political processes that were male-dominated or exclusively male. Subsequent legislatures are, for the most part, modelled on these established assemblies. Inevitably, these male-dominated organizations reflect certain male biases, the precise kind varying by country and culture.

Until recently, this ‘institutional masculinity’ has been an invisible characteristic of legislatures; it is embedded, pervasive and taken for granted. Only recently have legislatures’ masculine biases come under scrutiny. Indeed, in most countries, the political role of women in legislatures became a public issue only in the second half of the 20th century.

In 2005, women constitute 16.0 percent of members of parliaments (MPs) worldwide. In the Nordic countries, their numbers are highest at 40.0 percent, while in the Arab states their representation (as of January 2005) was only 6.5 percent.<sup>2</sup>

As with previous efforts to try to get women elected to parliament, today women inside parliament are organizing, mobilizing, motivating and advancing women from inside the world’s legislatures. They are devising strategies and taking action to promote issues relevant to women and facilitate changes in legislation.

The actual impact women parliamentarians can make will depend on a number of variables that vary from country to country. These include the economic and political context in which the assembly functions, the background, experience and number of the women who are in parliament, and the rules of the parliamentary process. Each of these factors has a significant bearing on the extent to which women MPs can make a difference once elected. Because these factors vary significantly from country to country, it is difficult to make generalizations that are universally relevant regarding how women MPs can maximize their impact.

In addition, there is relatively little research and information available on what sort of impact women have made. Underscoring the need for more knowledge and understanding in this particular field of women and decision-making, the United Nations’ Beijing Platform for Action, together with the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), call for more documentation on ‘women making a difference’ in politics.<sup>3</sup> Extrapolating from what is available in this field and on the basis of

interviews and discussions with women MPs around the world, we have identified some of the strategies and mechanisms women are using and can use to impact on the process. We have formulated a strategy, what we refer to as the ‘rules strategy’, to organize and present these ideas. The case studies that follow illustrate some of these strategies in action.

### **1.1. Presence**

The extent of women’s impact will depend very much on the number of women in parliament who are motivated to represent women’s issues and concerns.

Feminists often argue that pioneer women parliamentarians became surrogate men—that they were socialized into the legislature and became indistinguishable from the men they replaced. We doubt this. Men are known to behave differently when women are absent. Because it upsets gender boundaries, the presence of even one woman will alter male behaviour; the presence of several women will alter it even further. West European experience shows that where women MPs have a mission to effect change even small numbers can produce significant results.

While the presence of even one woman can make a difference, it is most likely that long-term significant change will only be realized when there is a substantial number of women in parliament who are motivated to represent women’s concerns. Buoyed by their colleagues, women MPs may then elicit the active partnership of their male counterparts. However, change does not simply result from numbers; rather it is a complex process of overcoming resistance to women in which presence is only one part of the necessary mixture. According to Drude Dahlerup, the test that a critical mass of women is present is the acceleration of the development of women’s representation through acts that improve the situation for themselves and for women in general. These actions are critical acts of empowerment.

Once present in larger numbers, and willing to act together on behalf of women, women MPs can overcome the ‘tokenism’ phenomenon, that is, move beyond the perception they are subjected to, as well as be enabled to form interactive and strategic partnerships both within the legislatures and outside them. Within the legislatures, a critical mass makes it easier to cross party lines, and particularly to reach out to their male colleagues—the other half of an important equation for social transformation. Their presence as a critical mass also multiplies the possibilities and extent of their outreach to civil society organizations, which, in turn, enhances the momentum required in impacting on the legislature and its policies. In her studies of women MPs in Scandinavia and elsewhere, Dahlerup found that women politicians worked to recruit other women and developed new legislation and institutions to benefit women. As their numbers grew it became easier to be a woman politician and public perceptions of women politicians changed.<sup>4</sup> In 2005, Mercedes Mateo Diaz found in her study of Belgian and Swedish legislators that as the presence of women MPs increases so does their social representativeness.<sup>5</sup> When the numbers of women

were low, at around 15 to 20 percent, women MPs were less like women voters than male MPs are like male voters. The differences are due to distortions caused by recruitment procedures that were designed to select suitable men. To succeed in such processes women have to display ‘male qualifications’; hence they are more likely to have characteristics associated with male MPs. For example, they may have careers in male-dominated professions such as business or law. To display such characteristics they may have sacrificed domestic lives, and hence are less likely than men or women in the general population to have children. However, as the proportion of women in parliament nears parity it becomes more likely that they will reflect the social characteristics of women in the electorate.

## **1.2. Rules Strategy**

In this chapter, we have formulated a strategy to help maximize women’s impact on the legislative process. The full development of this rules strategy requires a critical mass of women working on and promoting women’s concerns.

Simply put, the strategy consists of three parts: **learning the rules, using the rules and changing the rules.** By rules we mean the customs, conventions, informal practices and specific regulations that govern the way a legislature functions. These include law-making processes, the division of labour in the assembly, hierarchy structures, ceremonies, disciplines, traditions, habits and the norms of the assembly including its internal functioning and its relationship to other parts of the government and to the nation it has been elected to serve.

This strategy of learning, using and changing the rules is based on the belief that there is a need for change and that an objective in electing women MPs is to secure change. There are essentially four types of change that will make a difference to women. They can be categorized as institutional/procedural change, representation change, influence on output and discourse.

**1. Institutional/procedural change** refers to measures that alter the nature of the institution to make it more ‘woman-friendly’. Greater gender awareness should be accompanied by procedural changes designed to accommodate women members. This is a product of an increased sensitivity to the fact that class, age, ethnicity, race, physical ability, sexuality, parenting and life stage have a determining effect on women’s lives, in much the same way as they do on men’s lives.

**2. Representation change** involves specific actions to secure women’s continued and enhanced access to the legislature. These include the encouragement of women candidates; conscious use of role model capacities when applicable; the promotion of sex equality legislation, or parity or equality regulations; and appropriate changes in electoral and campaigning laws. Representation change also includes actions in parliament that are designed to place women in important parliamentary positions and to secure their presence in government. It must also include changes in political

parties that bring more women to legislatures. Women MPs often use the power their representative status gives them to support the improvement of political opportunities for women in their parties, as well as organizing to support women for higher office. Parliaments constitute a crucial pool of recruitment to higher office.

**3. Impact/Influence on output** refers specifically to the ‘feminization’ or re-gendering of legislation and other policy outputs, that is the extent to which laws and policies have been altered or influenced in women’s favour. This includes both putting women’s issues on the agenda and ensuring that all legislation is woman-friendly and gender-sensitive.

**4. Discourse change** involves changes both inside and outside parliament. Not only should efforts be made to alter parliamentary language so that women’s perspectives are actively sought and normalized; it is also necessary to make use of the parliamentary platform to alter public attitudes and to change the discourse of politics so that a political woman becomes as frequent a fixture of the political space as a man. Such ‘speaking out the window’ uses the parliamentary opportunity of greater access to the mass media and to the general public to raise awareness of women’s issues and of women’s political capacities in public debate.

**Table 15: Four Areas of Change that will Impact on Women’s Participation**

Institutional/Procedural	Making parliament more ‘woman-friendly’ through measures to promote greater gender awareness
Representation	Securing women’s continued and enhanced access to parliament, by encouraging women candidates, changing electoral and campaigning laws and promoting sex equality legislation
Impact/Influence on Output	‘Feminizing’ legislation, by making sure it takes into account women’s concerns
Discourse	Altering parliamentary language so that women’s perspectives are sought and normalized, and encouraging a change in public attitudes towards women

**Table 16: Women: Making Impact through Parliament**

	Institutional/Procedural and Representation	Influence on Output and Discourse
Learning the Rules	<p>Participate in training and orientation exercises on internal parliamentary codes of conduct (e.g., how to ask for the floor); develop public speaking and effective communication; and relate to and lobby male colleagues.</p> <p>Network with women's organizations. Mentoring and shadowing by more senior MPs.</p> <p>Understand and handle the media.</p>	<p>Distinguish between women's perspectives, women-specific needs, and gender issues.</p> <p>Caucus with media, national and international organizations.</p> <p>Draw attention to sexist discourse.</p> <p>Establish a presence within different committees (e.g. budget, defence, foreign affairs).</p> <p>Clarify the value and importance of 'soft' committees.</p>
Using the Rules	<p>Make a point of nominating and voting for women in internal elections and within parties.</p> <p>Draw attention to absence of women in key positions.</p> <p>Invest in committee work.</p> <p>Push for and establish government equal opportunity positions and women's ministries.</p> <p>Campaign to expand existing structures to include women's concerns.</p> <p>Set up networks to train in more convincing and less adversarial types of debate.</p>	<p>Influence parliamentary agendas: introduce women-sensitive measures (e.g. changes in parliamentary work schedules to suit working mothers).</p> <p>Establish public enquiries on women's issues and use findings to place issues on government agendas and within legislative programmes.</p> <p>Speak for, co-sponsor and sponsor bills.</p> <p>Seek partnership with male colleagues.</p> <p>Make public issue out of certain concerns by cooperating with the media (e.g. on ways of referring to women in parliament, sexual harassment issues).</p> <p>Link gender inequalities to other inequalities.</p> <p>Form alliances with other excluded groups to seek representation.</p> <p>Use the media as a part of the effective outreach strategy to widen women MPs' constituencies and public support bases.</p>
Changing the Rules	<p>Change candidate selection rules for the entire party, especially for leadership positions.</p> <p>Introduce quota systems on certain committees or issue of proportionality for men/women representation.</p> <p>Establish a women's whip.</p> <p>Establish gender equality committees.</p> <p>Establish national machinery to monitor implementation and ensure accountability; institutionalize regular debates on progress into the parliamentary timetable.</p>	<p>Encourage the providing of financial incentives to programmes/projects designed to facilitate women's decision-making endeavours (e.g. for leadership-training schools, increasing government subsidies to political parties with more women in leadership positions/candidates; introducing a specific women's budget earmarked for enhancing women's decision making).</p> <p>Cooperate with the women's movement and the media to change the image of women as 'only' housewives, to portray them as effective and efficient politicians and to normalize</p>

<p>Changing the Rules</p>	<p>Establish mechanisms to encourage female speakers (e.g. giving them priority over male colleagues). Participate in institutional and procedural reform and modernization processes to ensure the resulting changes are women-friendly.</p>	<p>the image of a woman politician. Be proud of identity as a woman, instead of attempting to imitate men and hide or deny womanhood. Expand legislation to include emerging issues of importance to women (e.g. conflict resolution and peace-making, human rights, special women's budgets).</p>
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## 2. Learning the Rules

Legislatures debate policies, make laws, examine their implementation and effects, provide a recruitment pool for government and scrutinize the activities of government. Most legislatures have a budgetary function; they are responsible for both the formal allocation of the budget and auditing government spending. They are organized into front and back benches, government and opposition, and functional and procedural committees. Through such structures, debate, monitoring, interrogation and interpolation are organized. MPs tend to specialize in particular issue areas and make their parliamentary reputations on the basis of their performance in the various structures and processes of the legislatures.

**The first step is for women MPs to understand how the legislature works in order to be able to use this knowledge to operate more effectively.**

For women to be effective parliamentarians, they must clearly understand the functions of the legislature and they must learn the rules of the game—both the written and unwritten codes, and the procedures and mechanisms for getting things done in parliament. They must first learn the internal practices of parliament in order to equip themselves to utilize these rules better and to devise effective strategies to change the rules to advance women's interests and goals. These ideas are elaborated below, grouped under each of the four main areas of change, namely institutional/procedural, representation, influence on output and discourse. In the margins, to facilitate easy access and readability, we highlight some of the specific strategies that we suggest within each area.

### 2.1. Institutional/Procedural

The first step is for women MPs to understand how the legislature works in order to be able to use this knowledge to operate more effectively within the legislature. MPs can acquire this knowledge in a variety of ways, including

**Learn about the legislature through orientation programmes and through training by political parties.**

specific training and orientation programmes as well as more general socialization processes. For example, it is common for legislative leaders and other officials to offer orientation to new members on how the assembly works. Often, political parties also provide such training.

Training by political parties is particularly useful since it offers insight into how the MP's party understands the procedures and how the party itself fits into the procedures. Since the organization of legislative work often depends on party composition, parties have a significant influence on procedures. In some parts of the world political parties offer special skills training especially for women, since they may be less experienced in legislative procedures than men. However, in many parts of the developing world most parties do not have the resources, or the willingness, to offer such training. In fact, as many of the case studies point out, very often party allegiance can handicap the development of political discourse in general and of any assistance to women MPs in particular. Political parties in some of the Arab and Latin American countries, for example, do not allow for any structural improvements and still operate on the assumption that women's perspectives and women's issues do not deserve any specific priority. This has repercussions within parties both in and out of the legislature.

Networking is a crucial training and socialization mechanism for women MPs. Networking provides quick access to knowledge that may otherwise take years of experience to acquire and enables women MPs to come together to discuss their concerns and share their knowledge and expertise, thus greatly enhancing their potential for effectiveness.

**Network with women MPs and mentoring (shadowing) by more experienced women MPs.**

Such networking takes place both within and (less frequently) across party lines. Cross-party alliances of women MPs have been successful in a number of countries including Sweden, France, the Netherlands, South Africa, Croatia and Egypt. The issues are as diverse as rape laws, electoral reform, institutional reform, personal status and other country-specific issues (such as women's rights to apply for passports without their husbands' permission in Egypt, and social, political and economic rights for Dalits (or scheduled castes, formerly called 'untouchables') in India). Also noteworthy is the formation of 'support groups' composed of women professionals and MPs, a phenomenon especially apparent in European countries. In the words of one Finnish MP, Riitta Uosukainen, 'The fact that these women are able to get together across party lines, across professional areas and support each other not only personally, but also seek to do so professionally, is invaluable'. Mentoring (i.e. supervising, befriending and giving advice and guidance) by more experienced women MPs is another important way of providing special training for women MPs. In the Netherlands, for example, a system of 'shadowing' was developed whereby women who were hesitant to be nominated for elected office were assisted by elected members to gain confidence.

One global structure that seeks to provide a space for women to exchange

ideas and strategies across nations is the Inter-Parliamentary Union (see the case study that follows this chapter). This body works to enhance the visibility and effectiveness of women locally, regionally and internationally and also provides women MPs with mentoring, capacity-building support and information.

**Participate in joint training sessions for men and women.**

In addition to programmes specially geared for women, orientation exercises involving both men and women are important. In joint training sessions, women are encouraged to address their areas of interest and to network with male counterparts, as well as to learn how to break through established 'codes of conduct'. At the same time, male MPs are made aware of women's issues and the importance of enabling women MPs to act effectively in the legislature. The latter in particular is an important step in overcoming the sense of threat that many male deputies feel vis-à-vis women colleagues, since it provides an opportunity not only to raise awareness of gender issues, but to indicate the extent to which they are interlinked with most other social, economic and political concerns. Thus training and orientation of male parliamentarians play an important role in the mainstreaming of women's issues and perspectives.

In addition to information about both the written and the unwritten rules and procedures of parliament, women may also find training in voice and image projection and public speaking particularly helpful. Many women have difficulty speaking authoritatively and arguing convincingly, and some find it difficult to make themselves heard in large legislative chambers. New entrants, in particular in developing democracies, confess that they find it difficult to be given the opportunity to speak and to know the ins and outs of parliamentary speaking procedures. The effectiveness of former actress Glenda Jackson in the British House of Commons, for example, proves that a trained woman's voice can have as much impact as a man's.

Some women MPs in established democracies have also organized media training sessions. This involves, among other things, seminars and workshops where MPs are informed about 'media-speak' (i.e. what kind of information the media are interested in and how best to deliver it) and advised on how to network with media personalities and on which ones are more sympathetic to women's issues.

**Learn how to handle the media.**

## **2.2. Representation**

Institutional rules, customs and procedures (in addition to party politics) are key to determining the legislative positions and functions, such as committee assignments and participation in debates on the floor. Recruitment to these important positions may depend on any one or a combination of factors including party position, seniority, faction, ability, support for the government, national or local profile and

**Identify key positions in parliament and develop channels to get women in.**

issue expertise. While the appropriate strategy will depend to some extent on the number of women in the legislature, at a minimum women should identify key interests, positions and functions and strategize about ways to get women into the relevant forum. If existing channels are not open to promoting women into key positions, new avenues should be developed.

### *2.2.1. Gender Equality Committees*

In some countries, such avenues could be parliamentary or governmental women's committees or broader equality committees that include women's rights in their mandate. Formal and informal gender equality committees were successfully established in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Netherlands, while the assemblies of Scotland and Wales have broadly-based equality committees which, under pressure from women representatives, take a close interest in equality. Also effective are committees of women legislators such as those found in New Zealand, Australia and the USA. In other cases, nationwide umbrella organizations (non-governmental) or strong grass-roots organizations can act as catalysts to get women into key areas. Further avenues could be opened through training and educational programmes, or through pressure for representation by the media. International pressure could also be used to encourage governments to include women at all levels of power and decision making.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge about these positions and about ways to get women in can be shared by mentoring, caucusing and networking both among women and with male colleagues.

Women in key positions not only enhance their own ability to make an impact; they also facilitate opportunities for other women to speak out. For example, a study of the Colorado State legislature measured differences in the speaking behaviour of members of legislative committees by sex, seniority, interest and party. It was found that women did better at controlling the dialogue and making themselves heard when other women were present, visible (sitting where they could be seen) and in positions of authority.<sup>7</sup> This research also showed that male dominance of conversation, discussion and meetings enhanced men's power and undermined that of some women even where the formal positions of men and women legislators were equal.

One way of building women's careers and thus their advancement into key positions is by learning how to use the media to increase the visibility and confidence of women parliamentarians. Since women employed in the media have their own problems of self-establishment and advancement they may be sympathetic to MPs interested in women's concerns. In fact, one of the key problems in most media is the lack of women in decision-making posts, which effectively means that decisions concerning editorial content and

**Use the media to increase women's visibility.**

production issues are largely controlled by men. As the presence of women in the media expands, so do the possibilities for women MPs and politicians, journalists and other broadcasters and writers to network on the basis of common interests and concerns.

Typically, women's interests have led them to what is still perceived as the less prestigious (and possibly less powerful) social policy areas of specialization, that is, committee assignments such as education, health and family affairs. Many women MPs believe it is necessary to establish women's presence in traditionally influential sites within parliaments, such as finance, defence and foreign affairs. Others argue that the distinction itself cannot be justified. European political scientists have made the important point that describing social issues as 'soft' caricaturizes them as unimportant and ignores the facts that these areas, in which European women are most active, account for the largest share of public expenditure—education, health and social services at local and regional levels. Women choose these areas because they prefer them and they accept making the very difficult decisions such as whether to prioritize care of the elderly or day care.<sup>8</sup> The traditional distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' issues is old-fashioned and inaccurate and should be contested by women representatives. Ideally a twofold strategy must be developed: on the one hand, the importance of such areas needs to be continually stressed; on the other hand, simultaneous efforts should be made to ensure women's active participation in all policy areas.

**Stress the importance of 'soft' committees, while working to establish the presence of women in all committees.**

### **2.3. Impact/Influence on Output**

To discuss the impact of women representatives it is useful to make a distinction between women's issues and women's perspectives. Women's issues are issues that mainly affect women, either due to largely physical concerns (e.g. breast cancer screening, reproductive rights) or for social reasons (e.g. sex equality or childcare policy). Women's perspectives are women's views on all political concerns. Some research indicates that, although broadly the same issues are significant for both sexes, women's perspective on issues differs from that of men. For example, research carried out in Britain in 1996 showed that, although both women and men prioritized economic issues, women were more concerned about part-time work, low pay and pension rights, while men were more concerned about unemployment.

**Distinguish between women's perspectives and women's issues; and educate MPs about both.**

MPs need to have knowledge and understanding of both women's issues and women's perspectives—if only, as most contributors to this volume have expressed, to see the other half of reality—in order to produce output that has a favourable impact on women. The kind of impact MPs will wish to have will inevitably vary by party.

**Stay informed about women's issues, by maintaining close links with the women's movement and women's organizations.**

In her research on Sweden (in this volume) for instance, Lena Wängnerud reports that women representatives from different political parties tend to emphasize women's issues and concerns.

But the need for knowledge and information exists regardless of party perspective. Women

MPs have successfully used various means of becoming informed about women's issues and perspectives. Most important in this regard is what contributors to this volume have repeatedly highlighted—maintaining close links with women's organizations of all kinds and drawing on their expertise and resources. Such linkages with women's movements also enhance the legitimacy of MPs and keep them in touch with changing, often varying, women's concerns and policy needs. European parliamentarians have made use of the goodwill and knowledge of academic experts to draft policies on such matters as domestic violence, female bondage, trafficking in women, care of children and the aged, pensions and women's health issues. Research on policy issues is a major political tool and can be gathered and used by MPs by participating in conferences organized by women's organizations, experts and politicians and by caucusing with other MPs who have similar interests. Caucusing is part of both learning and using the rules. MPs interested in a particular issue, for example employment or women's health, might meet to identify important upcoming votes and committee discussions and decide on tactics and strategies to influence the outcome. Another strategy is to facilitate the access of women voters to their legislators. In Scotland a crèche was established for visitors to the assembly to ensure that those with childcare responsibilities (usually women) can seek out and meet their representatives.

## **2.4. Discourse**

Parliaments have their own distinct language, a product both of their specialized tasks and functions and of their culture and their traditional male membership. In the United Kingdom (UK), for example, the House of Commons had a discourse characterized by a formal set of titles, modes of address and rules of debate, as well as a barracking, sexist and scatological 'humour', from many years of male domination, that women MPs found offensive, especially when it was used on them. Familiarity with speaking and debating techniques can help to curtail such 'yahoo' heckling. British women have successfully used the media to draw attention to the sexism in the House of Commons by revealing these practices to women in the media and to other journalists eager to criticize ill-behaved MPs. The result has been a series of press and broadcasting items about the childish and sexist behaviour of male MPs. The public, previously unaware of this, disapproved of their MPs' behaviour.

**Reveal sexist discourse; and learn speech and debating techniques to quell it.**

### 3. Using the Rules

By learning how to use the rules, women can seize opportunities to participate on key committees and positions, make themselves heard in discussions and debates, and fully utilize their skills and abilities.

Gaining familiarity with the rules is the first part of a longer-term process to enhance women's position and to highlight women's issues and perspectives. The next step is to learn how to use the rules for maximum impact. One of the problems many women parliamentarians face is that they are not allocated time in discussions and debates and they find it difficult to be selected for participation on key committees and in key positions. Thus they are not able to fully utilize their skills and abilities and their contribution cannot be accurately assessed. By learning how to use the rules, together with other women deputies and the media, women can break this vicious circle. Many of the tactics for using the rules, discussed below, can be shared across national boundaries.

Intergovernmental organizations such as the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the European Union and the United Nations and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can and do play a vital role in helping women learn how to use the rules by facilitating the sharing of information. Their meetings bring together experts and politicians to network and exchange ideas and their publications make these discussions about women's needs, strategies and achievements available to a wider audience.

#### 3.1. Institutional/Procedural

Formal and informal parliamentary roles are often allocated by established rules and procedures. There is, nevertheless, some room for influence and intervention which women should maximize. For example, women MPs should make a point of nominating and voting for women in internal elections, of suggesting women's names for informal positions, and of drawing attention to the absence or relative absence of women in key positions. Particular attention should be given to opportunities available in committee work, as there is considerable evidence from the long-established democracies that women do better in committee work than in debating chambers. Having said this, women should not abandon debating chambers since this is where parliamentary reputations are often made and where the media often direct their sustained attention. The skill of debating in general is a particularly important one and can be encouraged and sponsored through parliamentary networks linked up to schools, that is, through the curricula, as well as through leadership institutions. Women's parliamentary networks can also play a crucial role in supporting women speakers and in changing to less adversarial styles of debate.

**Make a point of nominating and voting for women in internal elections.**

Since government careers tend to follow from legislative careers, the advancement of women through the range of committees and through the legislative hierarchy is an important component in their qualification for high office. Equal opportunity positions in government and ministries for women's affairs and their shadow counterparts in opposition parties are other positions that have been well used by women politicians to advance their interests and their careers.

For example, between 1992 and 1997 four Labour women MPs in the UK were shadow ministers for women. All four were appointed to important government positions (two at cabinet level) when Labour won the election in 1997. They proved reliable advocates of gender equality and were supporters of women's concerns in their departments. Their numbers expanded in 2001. This indicates (a) that such positions need not be a ghetto for women, but may instead be a means of advancement, and (b) that they can facilitate the mainstreaming of gender sensitivity across government.

### **3.2. Representation**

Rules have been used to increase women's representation in a number of ways. In this area, a three-track strategy has proved effective:

- pressure political parties to ensure that women are nominated for winnable seats in the legislature;
- design procedural mechanisms to ensure the presence of women in the full range of parliamentary positions; and
- design legislation that creates new structures to ensure that women's interests are represented.

The expansion of political structures, whether by creating new ministries or expanding the size of the cabinet for instance, has proved a useful means of securing women's representation. Modernization and reform of existing legislatures or the creation of new legislatures offers opportunities to secure or enhance women's representation. A good example is Scotland where feminists intervened in the process of constitutional change to secure a Scottish legislature in which women were fairly represented. Under the umbrella of the Scottish Women's Co-ordination Group they lobbied the Constitutional Convention and the political parties to gender the debate on devolution. They became involved in debates about institutional design and the recruitment of legislators. When the first Scottish Parliament was elected in 1999, 37 percent of its members were women, as were 30 percent of ministers, and 41 percent of committee

**Campaign to expand existing structures to include women.**

members, including six out of 17 chairs. All the numbers increased in the subsequent election in 2003. However, constitutional change is an opportunity, not a guarantee, as experiences in

Eastern and Central Europe and with the European Convention indicate.<sup>9</sup>

In Costa Rica, a practice that the vice-president should be a woman has been established. The experience of the Netherlands shows that the creation of parliamentary committees on women's issues is one way of making positions available for women. Such committees scrutinize all legislation for their gendered content and thereby aid the extension of women's agendas. They also enhance awareness of the gendered nature of many political issues. The committees feed into the legislative process and also play a part in generating public discussion on such issues.

Concern has been expressed by women deputies in many countries that such devices may serve only to separate and 'ghettoize' women's issues and the politicians who support them. Although 'ghettoization' may be a risk in the short term, experience indicates that over time such work becomes accepted and, in fact, affirms and legitimizes broader gender issues. Moreover women gain valuable experience by serving on women's committees, in reserved places and in women's ministries. They may then extend their influence by working with other committees on different issues, for example by monitoring the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action or other international treaties. Women's committees need not be seen as permanent structures, but while in existence they can enable women to display their skills and thus serve as launching platforms for careers in other political areas. Moreover women who have experience of sex equality portfolios carry this increased awareness and knowledge of women's issues to other ministries, thus advancing the process of mainstreaming women's concerns.<sup>10</sup>

**Serve on women's ministries to gain valuable experience. Carry this increased awareness to other positions.**

### **3.3. Impact/Influence on Output**

Knowledge of the procedural rules has frequently been used to influence the parliamentary agenda by introducing women's concerns into otherwise gender-blind debates—forcing debates on issues such as reproductive rights, equal pay, childcare and child rights—as well as by proposing sex equality legislation and amendments. Parliamentarians have established public enquiries into women's status and condition, and then used the results to push through legislative programmes. Once the issues are on the agenda, the behaviour of other politicians changes. After all, it is more difficult politically to come out against equality for women than it is to prevent equality issues from getting onto the agenda in the first place. An example in the UK is the Sex Discrimination Candidates Act of 2002 which permits political parties to use affirmative action to increase the number of women MPs and candidates. The bill was passed with all-party support and almost no dissent because its opponents were silent, unwilling to oppose women's representation in public. For

**Influence parliamentary agendas by introducing women's issues into debates.**

similar reasons many male opponents abstained from participating in the French *parité* debate in the National Assembly in 2000.

In some cases, activities such as co-sponsorship, speech-making and sponsorship of bills by women have been much more effective than their actual votes. One study looking at the support for women's issues in the French legislative structures found that women were more likely than men to co-sponsor feminist bills, to make speeches on behalf of feminist legislation and to sponsor feminist legislation. A study of early day motions, which are devices for drawing attention to issues in the UK House of Commons, found women MPs much more active than their male colleagues in supporting women's concerns.<sup>11</sup>

There are many instances in some parts of the developing world, however, where women MPs shy away from any association with bills on women. This is largely due to their sense that such arguments would lack support and endorsement from their fellow colleagues and may contribute to their marginalization, as well as to a certain stigma associated with being 'feminists'. This further underscores the need for mainstreaming women's concerns, or raising awareness about the interlinkage between women's issues and every other issue handled by parliament. Budget and economic interests, for example, are not and should not be seen as only male concerns since they affect everyone. Similarly, health, social welfare and education do not only affect women.

**Speak in favour of, sponsor and co-sponsor bills.**

### **3.4. Discourse**

In certain countries, cultural norms of equality between men and women, or discourse on rights, meritocracy and conventions about representation, may be avenues that can be used to alter parliamentary balances. For example, Danish women MPs have succeeded in altering the parliamentary discourse. Drude Dahlerup notes how, prior to the entry of significant numbers of women into the Scandinavian parliaments, most politicians did not have the vocabulary to speak about issues such as discrimination, inequality, sexual harassment or sexual violence. Most had problems even using the word for women and preferred to use euphemisms. Over time in the Nordic states the increased presence of women has altered the style of campaigning, bringing in expressions of warmth and compassion as well as references to the family.<sup>12</sup> This does render campaigning less adversarial. In the Netherlands, study of legislative debates reveals how women's interventions have been associated with changing the way in which abortion policy is debated, notably its shift from a medical or religious issue to an issue of choice.<sup>13</sup> Research from the UK shows that the interventions of women MPs are more likely than

**Make a public issue of concerns, such as sexual harassment.**

those of men to refer to examples of how policies and decisions affect individuals and families, while male MPs invoke abstract concepts such as citizens or constituents.<sup>14</sup>

The participation of women politicians in major international conferences has also had an important effect on challenging public notions of what women can do. One example is the way in which perceptions about the women's movement in Egypt and in other Arab countries changed following the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) that was held in Cairo in September 1994. Prior to this conference, many Egyptian women MPs, and indeed the general public, had at best been ignorant of the women's movement and at worst been downright disdainful of its capabilities. Those involved in the women's movement held a similar view of women parliamentarians. The ICPD was an opportunity for women MPs to actually witness what women's NGOs had managed to accomplish and to network with them on issues of common interest. It also enabled the women's movement to realize that they could have potential allies in women MPs since they shared many interests and goals. Regardless of what may have actually happened later on, at least there was a perceptible change in awareness on the part of both the MPs and the women's organizations. Equally important was a shift in public awareness and perception of women as activists and as politicians. The ICPD and subsequent international networking opportunities demonstrated to the general public that women's issues (whether it was changes in family law, reproductive rights or female circumcision) were part of their general concerns and that, rather than a bunch of loose women clamouring for change, those articulating these concerns were capable and intelligent women who deserved to be listened to and taken seriously.

**Get involved in international conferences to highlight women's potential and capabilities.**

#### 4. Changing the Rules

The presence of women and the introduction of women's concerns will inevitably challenge existing arrangements and procedures. At a minimum, parliamentary timetables, places of meeting, childcare provisions, working hours and travel arrangements may be changed to make them more suitable for women.

One of the most significant changes that we have noted is the networking of women across party lines. This underscores the now more frequent cross-party cooperation by women legislators found in the European Parliament, South Africa, the USA, the Netherlands, France, Belgium and Italy on issues such as women's representation policy, forced marriage, domestic violence, reproductive rights, rape and employment equality.<sup>15</sup>

Women's experiences in a variety of parliamentary roles will build up political capital which can be used to secure further advancement, to help change existing rules and structures, and to assist new generations of women politicians.

#### 4.1. Institutional/Procedural

Changes in parliamentary structures and procedures might include the introduction of proportionality norms for men's and women's membership in committees, the establishment of women's whips (responsible for organizing the parliamentary votes of women in a particular party) and formal or informal quotas for women in various legislative positions. Internal voluntary party quota systems have been used effectively in Germany at the local and national levels, and have been introduced in France by means of legislation. In countries where compulsory quotas are politically difficult, voluntary targets can be set. At their most effective such policies include deadlines and realistic timetables for implementation.

Mechanisms to monitor the implementation of quotas that are accountable to the assembly should be established. This ensures that regular discussions on progress are part of the parliamentary timetable. Setting up committees on women's issues and national women's policy agencies that are also accountable to parliament have similar effects. Accountability to parliament ensures that their work is scrutinized, debated and publicized, providing numerous additional opportunities for discussion of women's concerns. For example, the South African Government has implemented a national gender machinery which proposes changes in legislation and supervises and ensures implementation. The case of South Africa reveals how simultaneous functions, both

**Introduce proportionality norms or quotas for the representation of women and men.**

inside and outside parliament, can operate: in South Africa a new constitution was drafted, a woman's empowerment programme was set up in consultation with women parliamentarians and an Office for the Status of Women was

created to mainstream women's concerns and ensure follow-up. A Commission on Gender Equality was also established in 1997 to promote gender equality and to advise and make recommendations to the legislature about how proposed legislation affects gender equality and the status of women (see the case study). An important challenge is to ensure that these institutional mechanisms maintain their links with grass-roots activists, so that MPs are aware of what takes place outside the parliamentary walls.

Changes in procedure can be effective in and of themselves and can also have a wider impact on society. One such practice is in place in the German Bundestag: when a woman raises her hand to speak in discussions she is automatically shifted to the top of the list of male speakers. This practice seeks to overcome women's diffidence about speaking in male-dominated groups by maximizing their opportunities to participate. It has become so ingrained in MPs that they repeat the practice even when they are outside parliament.

More fundamental changes involve changing the way in which certain issues, namely those closer to women's concerns and in which women have an expertise (e.g. education, welfare policy, family policy), are viewed in the parliamentary hierarchy. As we have mentioned, the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' issues is difficult to sustain

and is likely to break down. This process will develop from increased interest in ‘soft’ issues by all politicians, as women deputies become more successful in pushing them up the parliamentary agenda. Agenda changes are closely related to output changes.

**Break down distinction between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ issues.**

## **4.2. Representation**

Networks of women MPs have been successful in changing candidate selection rules to assist women’s access to political office. Special measures such as quotas or minimum proportion rules for both sexes on candidate lists, reserved places for women and earmarked public funds for political parties have been operationalized. Political parties have been at the centre of most of the effective strategies to enhance women’s representative capacities. Parties have developed strategies to promote women internally into decision-making positions in the party organization and externally into elected assemblies and public appointments. Generally they have been more radical, committed and imaginative in devising policies to bring women into internal party positions than to nominate women as candidates for elected office. Their most effective action has been the introduction of various kinds of quotas.

Quotas are, in most cases, temporary measures designed to overcome imbalances that exist between men and women. They are an effort to change the political equilibrium between women and men. The different types of quotas, and their consequences, are detailed by Drude Dahlerup in chapter 4 of this Handbook.

Another important representation strategy is to expand definitions of representation to include all public decision-making bodies, and to campaign for women’s inclusion in the senior civil service and the judiciary. Such campaigns have been undertaken in Austria, Finland, the Netherlands, the UK and elsewhere. A difficult but necessary further step will be the extension of such demands to the private sector, as has happened in Finland.

**Change candidate selection rules to assist women’s access to political office.**

## **4.3. Impact/Influence on Output**

One clear indication that women have influenced output is the fact that quotas exist for women in political parties and parliament. Output changes are inevitable as women become more and more effective in promoting women’s issues and concerns. Once women’s issues are raised and sustained on the agenda, they rapidly secure the interest of all politicians. This interest can apply to a wide host of issues—political, economic, social and even cultural.

Recent research indicates that the most effective way to influence output and promote women’s equality is to provide financial incentives to programmes geared towards women. For example, to enhance the education of girls, the Indian

Government pledged to match and double any contribution made to the building of girls' schools. The Dutch Government previously used the system of public funding of political parties to earmark special funding for the promotion of women candidates by all parties. South Africa introduced a women's budget to fund projects that cater to the particular needs and interests of women. Financial incentives may be targeted directly at women's representation by tying the public funding of political parties to their numbers of elected women legislators.

**Encourage financial incentives for programmes geared for women.**

This policy has been implemented in Italy, for elections to the European Parliament, and France, for elections to the National Assembly

so that parties which do not nominate or return a certain number of women legislators forgo some of their public funding.

#### **4.4. Discourse**

The most important change affecting discourse has been the overturning of implicit rules limiting appropriate topics of debate to matters in the 'public' sphere. In cooperation with women's movements, parliamentarians in some countries have extended the agenda of legislatures to discussions of domestic violence, stalking, rape, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, consent in marriage and the rights of lesbian mothers.

Further change in the area of discourse can come about once women themselves become increasingly proud of their identities as women. Former member of the European Parliament (MEP) Hedy D'Ancona surveys some of the most influential women MEPs of the 1990s and argues that by not being shy of their 'womanhood', but rather being proud of their identity as women, they have enhanced their work, impact and performance.<sup>16</sup> Women are often apologetic about rather than proud or assertive of their identity as women. A change in a woman politician's self-perception, Nadezhda Shvedova maintains, remains key to changing public perception and reaction to women and their contributions.

A woman's sex identity and her 'outsider' status can even enhance electoral attractiveness, particularly in times of constitutional crisis. As relatively new political entrants, women are often not associated with the corrupt and autocratic practices of collapsing regimes. Instead they can become symbols of modernity, honesty, democracy and caring, all images that are invaluable to reform movements.

The process of increasing the proportion of women in legislatures is part of a larger phenomenon of changing political images so that politics starts to be regarded as a normal activity for women. To take hold, such an attitude shift requires significant reinforcement in the mass media, and support from within the women's movement.

## 5. Criteria for Measuring Success

‘I am convinced that when we have established and are working with a system based on real equality, then the quality of women’s participation will be raised.’

*Birgitta Dahl, former Speaker of Parliament, Sweden*

To claim that women representatives make a difference in political processes, it is necessary to establish clear criteria to measure their impact. A fundamental component of such criteria is that women parliamentarians act, at least some of the time, in women’s interests. In formulating such criteria, it should also be recognized that: (a) there are many, sometimes conflicting, women’s interests to be represented; and (b) the very presence of women in a traditional male environment creates gender awareness and alters expectations.

As we have mentioned, what women can actually achieve will vary according to their numbers in parliament. Numbers form an important, necessary if not sufficient condition for sustained impact. It takes a substantial minority of women to ensure that critical acts of representation are undertaken. As the numbers of women grow we should expect increased participation by women in all aspects of parliamentary life, including interventions in debate, the proposing and sponsoring of legislation, access to parliamentary resources and occupancy of leading positions.

Another criterion for determining success is that women’s impact must be detectable in legislation on women’s issues. With women’s growing effectiveness, and enhanced representation, all legislation will increasingly take women’s perspectives into account as a matter of course. An especially telling indication of women’s impact will be an increase both in men raising women’s issues and in men’s deferring to women’s voices on all legislative debates which would exhibit a concern for women’s perspectives.

An important facet of success will involve interaction between the different agents of change—governments, women MPs, women’s organizations and other members of civil society, locally, regionally and internationally. It should always be remembered that partnership between women and men is a key ingredient in the process of change and impact. Many women MPs openly acknowledge that to attempt to work alone, without men, is not feasible.<sup>17</sup>

## 6. Strategies to Enhance Impact

The following are some of the main strategies to help women maximize their power and effectiveness as representatives.

**1. Raise awareness.** Campaigns with the media should focus public attention on the importance of balanced participation and representation of women and

men. Political parties or women's organizations could be financed to mount such campaigns and related activities. NGOs interested in encouraging the participation of women in political life have often been active in awareness raising. To encourage such campaigns, women and men politicians must be proactive in identifying and establishing relations and promoting these issues with key members of civil society as well as with media producers and presenters. An example of this is the Movement for Equal Rights–Equal Responsibilities in Cyprus which aims to promote public awareness that women can be politicians.

**2. Work in partnership with men.** This entails designing programmes, whether inside or outside specific political forums, that take into account men's concerns and perspectives with respect to solidarity with women politicians. This idea is now gaining credibility with the growing realization that women need the support of their male colleagues, partners and electorate to enhance the effectiveness of their strategies and increase the value of their social and political message.

**3. Enlarge the pool of eligible, aspirant women.** This means enhancing women's interest in becoming politicians as well as increasing their involvement in politics. Eligibility for and involvement in politics are partly a matter of access to general resources such as education, income and time, and partly a matter of specific resources such as knowledge and information about politics and political experience. Policies to enhance women's access to higher education, to paid employment and to various social and economic organizations provide a context for political participation that is increasingly hospitable to women. However, even where they lack adequate resources to participate politically, women are devising creative strategies to mobilize resources that would facilitate their access. For example, in India some women draw upon transitional networks of extended family, neighbourhood links and other 'women-centred' spheres to enable them to gather the resources they may require.

**4. Take positive action.** Quotas have been particularly effective in increasing women's presence in legislatures. Both incremental and 'fast-track' models have been used effectively. An example of the incremental model is Sweden, where women used several means to press their parties to nominate women candidates and place them in favourable positions on party lists. One way was to simply put forward women's names, a tactic that was very important in the early stages. They also conducted campaigns to promote women candidates and issued proposals to get women into better positions on party lists. Finally, they acted as watchdogs and protested whenever reversals occurred. This process of securing substantial increases in women's electoral fortunes was achieved without recourse to formal compulsory quotas. Recommendations, arguments and the threat to press for quotas succeeded in setting targets requiring women to get 40 percent of the nominations. Once these targets were set, considerable progress was achieved.<sup>18</sup> Fast-track models have been more commonly used in transitional or democratizing countries.

**5. Amend laws to allow positive discrimination.** Such practices were once rare in politics. In the past governments did not use the law to compel parties to promote

women, not least because such policies often ran against other legal principles. But this is an area of change as governments have legislated to compel (Belgium), to provide incentives (France, Italy) or to permit (the UK) measures to guarantee better representation of women legislators. Moreover, some countries have introduced laws requiring that women hold a certain proportion of seats on government-appointed bodies. Such laws were introduced in Denmark in 1985, Finland in 1987, Sweden in 1987, Norway in the 1980s, the Netherlands in 1992 and Germany in 1994. Published statistics in these countries indicate that women's participation in such bodies has risen steadily since. Governments can also use incentives. This is particularly easy where there is state funding of political parties. For example, the Dutch Government was able to make financial support for political parties dependent on their efforts to increase the proportion of women in their electoral bodies.

**6. Raise the general standard of living and access to resources of all women.**

The high achievements of Scandinavian women stem from a combination of government policy, party initiative and demographic changes. The remarkable position of women in Scandinavian politics rests on social/demographic foundations involving considerable changes in the structure of women's family, economic and social lives. These are probably irreversible. The policies on equality of representation have included government equality reforms operating in conjunction with the influence of the women's movement, functioning both autonomously and through the political parties. To some extent there is feedback between demographic and political change as policies have included explicit attempts to change demographics and the gendered division of labour both in the family and in paid employment.

**7. Build and maintain links with women's organizations and civil society institutions as a whole.** The maintenance of ties to the women's movement is crucial both for their support and for information on issues; similarly, the women's movement needs bases in political parties and in the legislature.

**8. Caucus and network.** This allows women MPs to share information, ideas, resources and support. Networks may be party-based, cross-party (very rare), local, regional and international. Meetings, conferences, seminars, newsletters and electronic mail links are useful networking devices. Consultations with women's organizations and research gauging the needs of women (demand) and their practical constraints (supply) enable women MPs to target their efforts to activities that will be most useful and effective. In this regard training on the use of information and communication technology, and eventually also on an introduction to and efficiency in emerging e-government practices, will become increasingly necessary to place women firmly at the cutting edge of governance as a whole.

**9. Use the mass media effectively.** Women MPs must use the mass media, particularly the resources offered by women broadcasters, editors and journalists, to communicate their concerns and highlight relevant issues. As well as enhancing the image of women MPs and promoting their political ideas, the mass media are instrumental in educating and mobilizing voters, particularly in rural areas—an

important concern particularly in developing countries where women, with limited resources, may have difficulty reaching out to these voters.

**10. Establish women's committees** and other machinery accountable to the legislature. This provides opportunities for women deputies to gain experience and for women's issues and perspectives to be debated and publicized.

**11. Collect, monitor and disseminate statistics and facts about women's political participation and representation.** This enables women's advocates in parliament to analyse the position of women in decision making and to define problems, devise appropriate solutions and seek political support for their preferred solutions. In particular, a collation of data on how women MPs have actually managed to make a difference through their legislatures is an ongoing need.

**12. Mainstream gender issues.** Ensure that gender issues are integrated within different political, social and economic concerns, in order to reveal the interdependence and linkages with other issue areas.

The ultimate objective of enhancing the quality of women's political participation is a goal that must be worked towards constantly. In much the same way as men's political input is in constant need of improvement, women should not be complacent about their contributions to the political process; nor should they take whatever gains are achieved for granted. Political participation is a process that is evolving and developing. The actors involved in this process should be prepared always to strive to keep ahead of the changes. The women and men involved in this process should work together to be agents of change, constantly aware that obstacles are but means to realize new and evolving strategies. Women and men politicians have achieved a great deal in the area of women's participation. Politicians of both sexes have contributed to advancing women's political participation in general and within legislative structures in particular. Although the road ahead is long, the lessons learned from the accumulation of experiences can, and will, significantly illuminate and smooth the many paths ahead.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> United Nations, 1995. 'The Beijing Platform for Action: Women in Decision Making', para. 181, available at <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm>>.
- <sup>2</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2005. 'Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of 31 July 2005', <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>>.
- <sup>3</sup> Excerpted from the moderator's summary published as UN document ECN.6/1997/IL.2/Add.2.
- <sup>4</sup> Dahlerup, Drude, 1988. 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Theory of Critical Mass'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 275–98. See also Lovenduski, Joni, 2005. *Feminizing Politics*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- <sup>5</sup> Mateo Diaz, Mercedes, 2005. *Representing Women? Female Legislators in West European Parliaments*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- <sup>6</sup> See also chapter 4 on how quotas can help this process.
- <sup>7</sup> Kathlene, L., 1995. 'Position Power versus Gender Power: Who Holds the Floor?', in G. L. Duerst-Lahti and R. M. Kelly (eds). *Gender Power, Leadership and Governance*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, pp. 167–94.
- <sup>8</sup> Raaum, N. C., 1995. 'The Political Representation of Women: A Birds Eye View', in L. Karvonen and Per Selle (eds). *Women in Nordic Politics*. London: Dartmouth Press.
- <sup>9</sup> Lovenduski 2005, op. cit., pp. 85–8.
- <sup>10</sup> Skjeie, Hege, 1991. 'The Rhetoric of Difference: On Women's Inclusion in Political Elites'. *Politics and Society*. No. 2.
- <sup>11</sup> Childs, S. and J. Withey, 2005. 'Sex Equality and the Signing of Early Day Motions in the 1997 Parliament'. *Political Studies*. Vol. 52, issue 3.
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- <sup>14</sup> Lovenduski 2005, op. cit.
- <sup>15</sup> Lovenduski, Joni with Claudie Baudino, Marila Guadagnini, Petra Meier and Diane Sainsbury (eds), 2005. *State Feminism and Political Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- <sup>16</sup> D'Ancona, Hedy, 1997. 'Politieke diva's rekenen af met de haantjestcultuur in Brussel' [Political divas reckon with the working culture of Brussels]. Opzij. December.
- <sup>17</sup> See the Inter-Parliamentary Union's references to this in the case study that follows.
- <sup>18</sup> Sainsbury, Diane, 1993. 'The Politics of Increased Women's Representation: The Swedish Case', in Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (eds). *Gender and Party Politics*. London: Sage.

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